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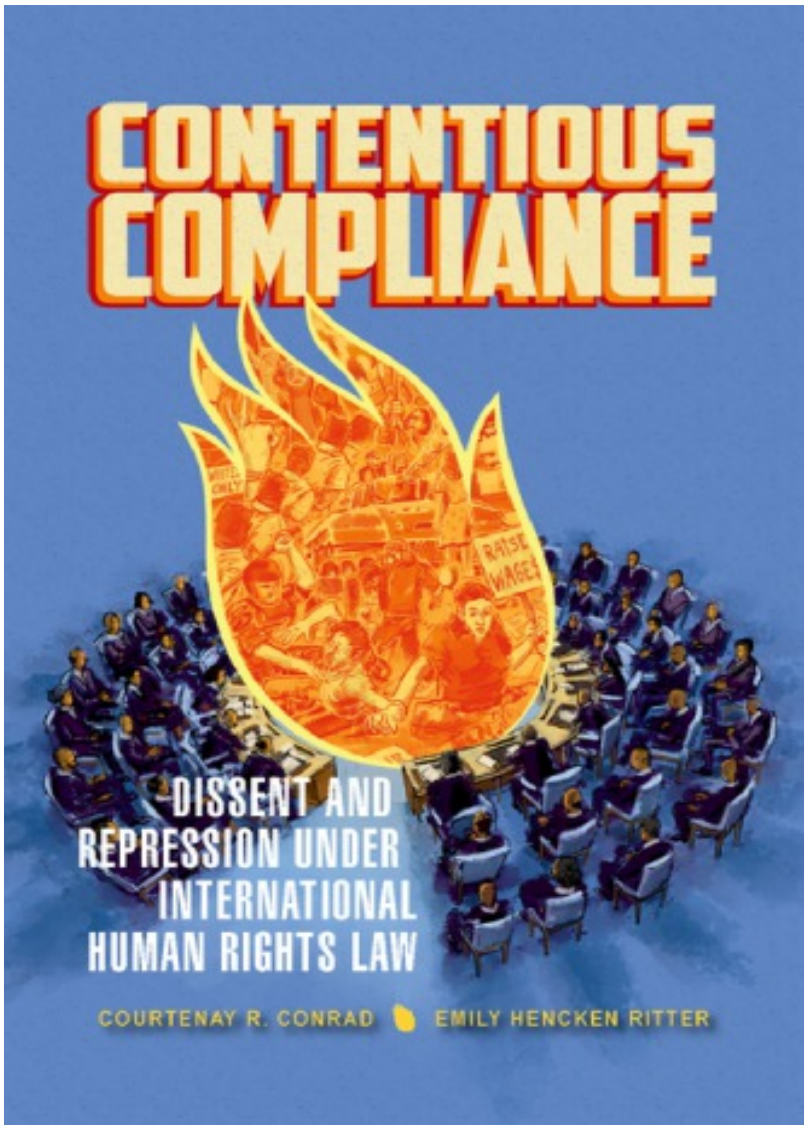

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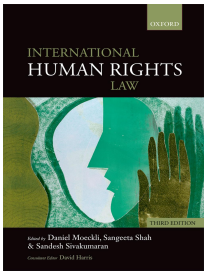

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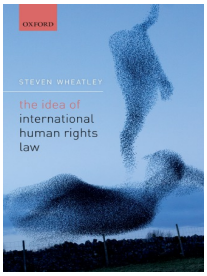

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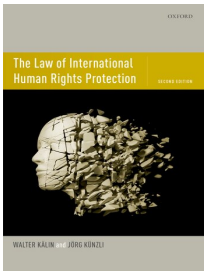

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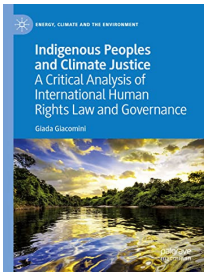

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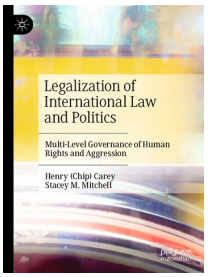

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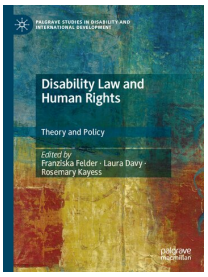

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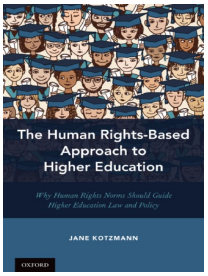

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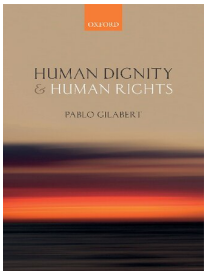

CONTENTIOUS COMPLIANCE

DISSENT AND REPRESSION UNDER INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS LAW

COURTENAY R. CONRAD EMILY HENCKEN RITTER

Contentious Compliance

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Dissent and Repression under International Human Rights Law

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Published in the United States of America by Oxford University Press
198 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016, United States of America.

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Names: Conrad, Courtenay R., author. | Ritter, Emily Hencken, author.
Title: Contentious compliance : dissent and repression under international human rights law / Courtenay R. Conrad, Emily Hencken Ritter.
Description: Oxford [UK]; New York, NY : Oxford University Press, [2019]
Identifiers: LCCN 2018045548 | ISBN 9780190910983 (pbk.) | ISBN 9780190910976 (hardcover)
Subjects: LCSH: International law and human rights. | Human rights. | Treaties. | Political persecution. | Dissenters—Legal status, laws, etc. | Government, Resistance to. | Protest movements.
Classification: LCC KZ1266 .C66 2019 | DDC 341.4/8–dc23
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2018045548

1 3 5 7 9 8 6 4 2

Paperback printed by WebCom, Inc., Canada
Hardback printed by Bridgeport National Bindery, Inc., United States of America

Dedicated to Will H. Moore

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The progress of science relies on community. We build on the careful work of other scholars. We present our research publicly, opening it to critique, suggestion, and improvement. We depend on organizations and universities for the time, space, and resources to think, process, write, fail, and succeed. We lean on a community of colleagues—from graduate school advisors to senior colleagues, from friends in the discipline to editors who support the research—for advice and encouragement. We contribute to the community, adding our ideas to the body of knowledge in the hopes they will assist others in proving us wrong and thinking differently about social scientific outcomes. We thank our community here.

PROFESSIONAL ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The two of us first met in 2008 at a small workshop on courts and human rights organized by Will Moore and Jeff Staton and sponsored by Florida State University and Emory University. Although the workshop was filled with prominent senior scholars (many of whom we thank below), this finally forthcoming project developed in pajamas and over the course of car rides, as FSU graduate student Courtenay hosted Emory graduate student Emily on an air mattress for the duration of the conference. Thank you, Will and Jeff, for starting us on a journey that will endure throughout our careers.

Like all good graduate students, we finished our respective dissertations before we really got started on this project, which began with a puzzle and a model and grew from there. The formal theory and its implications for government repression were published in the *Journal of Politics* in 2013. The implications and evidence for mobilized dissent were published in the *Review of International Organizations* in 2016 after being awarded the Best Paper in International Relations at the Annual Meeting of the

Midwest Political Science Association in 2012. A public presentation of some of the arguments contained in this book were published in *the Washington Post*'s Monkey Cage Blog in 2017. We appreciate the editors and reviewers who examined, attacked, dismantled, praised, and improved these manuscripts—including at the many journals where they were rejected. Thank you, especially, to Oxford University Press, our editor David McBride, and three very helpful anonymous reviewers. Reviewing even a portion of a book manuscript is no small task, and we appreciate everyone's efforts toward making this one better.

So many of the ideas contained in this book—its concepts, interpretations, scope, alternatives, relationships, and examples—emerged from the variety of scholars to whom we have presented this project in its various forms. In addition to refining the arguments with our colleagues at the University of California, Merced, we shared it in conferences, online workshops, graduate seminars, and invited research talks, benefiting from new questions and ideas all the while. Thank you to the participants in seminars at Binghamton University; the State University of New York at Buffalo; the University of California, Berkeley; the University of California, Merced; Duke University; Emory University; Florida State University; George Washington University; Universität Hamburg; the University of Illinois; the University of Indiana; the University of Iowa; the London School of Economics; the University of Maryland; the University of Michigan; the University of Mississippi; the University of Nebraska; the University of Pennsylvania; Pennsylvania State University; the University of Pittsburgh; Princeton University; Rice University; the University of South Carolina; Texas A&M University; the University of Texas; Texas Tech University; Stanford University; Vanderbilt University; and Yale University. Thank you also to conference participants at Princeton University, the MultiRights Summer Institute at the University of Oslo, Political Economy of International Organizations, Visions in Methodology, and the annual meetings of several national and international political science organizations.

In spring 2016, we hosted a book conference at the University of California, Merced. Although we promised our participants California sunshine, it rained for the duration, including during a postworkshop visit to Yosemite National Park. Over the course of that rainy weekend, we were fortunate to have some extremely intelligent, creative, and generous scholars tear our project down and then build it back up again. Thank you to Kathleen Cunningham, James Hollyer, Yon Lupu, Heather Elko McKibben, Will Moore, Jeff Staton, and Scott Wolford for making the trip to Merced and bringing with them their very best ideas to shape our manuscript. All of our colleagues and graduate students at UC Merced went out of their way to

make our guests feel welcome, especially Peter Carey, Jared Oestman, and Ae sil Woo, who took detailed notes and helped with conference logistics; Tom Hansford, who ably led our raincoat-clad group through Yosemite Valley; and Nate Monroe and Darick Ritter, who offered us logistical and psychological support in our attempts to feed and house our colleagues for several days. Book conferences are expensive; we are grateful to the Political Science Department, the School of Social Sciences, Humanities, and Arts at UC Merced, and the Tony Coehlo Endowed Chair of Public Policy for funding the workshop.

Many generous mentors and colleagues offered us their time and expertise in the form of invaluable comments, critiques, and discussions on various parts of this manuscript. Prior to the book workshop, Christian Davenport, Emilie Hafner-Burton, and Jeff Staton served as members of a book advisory committee, commenting on chapters and offering counsel about the book publishing process. In addition to the people named above—many of whom we could thank in every paragraph of our acknowledgments—we benefitted from the expertise and thoughtful suggestions of Paul Almeida, Phil Arena, Sam Bell, Tom Clark, Chad Clay, Justin Conrad, Danny Hill, Yukari Iwanami, Amanda Licht, Carolina Mercado, Amanda Murdie, Monika Nalepa, Rob O'Reilly, Hong Min Park, Cesare Romano, Beth Simmons, Jens Steffek, Chris Sullivan, Jay Ulfelder, Johannes Urpelainen, Erik Voeten, Jana von Stein, Jim Vreeland, Geoff Wallace, Jim Walsh, and Joe Young. Extra special thanks to Yon Lupu, Will Moore, and Scott Wolford, who read more bad and decent drafts of the articles and book manuscript than a person should ever have to do for a colleague or friend. We are grateful to Ellen Cutrone, Jeanette Hencken, Daniel Hoffmann, and Susan Navarro Smelcer for copyediting the manuscript at its interim stages and to Heath Sledge (http://heathsledge.com) for quick and able copyediting while we worked to meet our final deadlines. Over the course of our presentations of this work, we are grateful to have had hundreds of additional helpful conversations that improved our arguments immensely. We certainly have forgotten to list someone important by name, not because we are ungrateful, but because we are overwhelmed with gratitude for the wealth of expertise on which we have been fortunate enough to draw.

Darick Ritter (www.sequentialpotential.com), who is an incredibly talented artist, took our formal model—based on mathematical equations and social scientific jargon—and turned it into a work of art that conveys the main contributions of this book to wide audiences. We are thrilled that Oxford agreed to publish his work, Figure 3.1, in color, as it succinctly summarizes (and brings to life!) the dynamics of what sometimes feels like

a very complicated story. Darick also designed and illustrated our beautiful book cover, which we love. Because our theory is based on counterfactual analysis, it is similarly challenging to locate illustrative examples of its dynamics; to that end, we are also grateful to Peter Carey, Ishita Chaudhry, Chris Medina, and graduate students at Universität Hamburg for helping us find examples to color our prose.

DEDICATION

We dedicate this book to the memory of Will Moore, whose work serves as the intellectual foundation on which we base our arguments and who was an advisor, a mentor, and a friend. Over the course of his career, Will's research tended toward two main topics: the dissent-repression "nexus" and the effect of institutions on government respect (or lack of respect) for human rights. The framework for the theory and empirical tests that we present in this book—our contention that scholars should take the conflict seriously when they investigate the effect of institutions on human rights outcomes—was born of Will's influence.

Perhaps as a result of this influence, he liked the book. At least, we *think* he liked it; he invested in it by dismantling multiple versions of it multiple times. He celebrated when we finished the first draft, and he celebrated when it was sent out for review. Will died one year ago today, the day on which we pen this dedication. He did not live to celebrate with us when the book was accepted for publication, as he had when so many of our other publications were put in print. We hope the final version of the project would make him proud.

In addition to being influenced by Will's scholarship, we were also incalculably fortunate to be the recipients of his time, his energy, and his mentorship. Will was insatiably curious and intellectually tireless. He invested heavily in both of our careers, spending hours upon hours guiding us and pushing us to improve our work. He modeled the practice of doing things not because it's how other scholars do it but because it's fascinating, bold, weird, inviting, and maybe wrong. He taught us to build institutions where none exist to solve a problem, to write non-positivist articles if you have an idea to share, and to ask questions in new and different ways. Because he was a builder of community, Will also encouraged us to be fiercely supportive of one another and of other scholars in our community. In dedication to Will, we promise to pay it forward.

PERSONAL ACKNOWLEDGMENTS: COURTENAY

I have been fortunate to have many generous mentors, colleagues, and friends to direct me in this profession and to redirect me when I wandered off course. But Will Moore stands alone as the most important driving influence in my becoming—and continuing to work as—a political scientist. Will was my dissertation advisor and my coauthor. He was an irreplaceable source of support and advice until his death; I rarely make a professional decision today without first asking myself what Will would do, what Will would say. (Asking those questions sometimes results in my doing the opposite of what he would have suggested, but I know he would understand.) Will is not simply responsible for influencing my work; I am a political scientist because of Will Moore. I miss him immensely. And I hope to one day be even half the scholar that he taught me to be.

My most important personal thank-you is tinged with professional gratitude. My husband, Nate, makes my life immeasurably better every day—by filling my days with joy and laughter, by working hard to build a Home with me, and by making me aspire to be a better scholar. I'm grateful to have his fingerprints on my life and on my work. Thank you to Abby and Will for embracing me as family and reminding me (daily!) about the importance of work-life balance. I love you both very much and cannot wait to see you with your new sister, Charlie—who, thankfully, seems to have delayed her arrival just long enough for us to complete this book. I am endlessly grateful to my parents, Bill and Charlotte, who instilled in me a great love of learning, always maintained high expectations for me in spite of my failures, and reassured me tirelessly along the way. Thank you to the rest of my family—Matt, Elaina, Mary, Keith, Amy, Dean, Dylan, Sadie, and Papa—for providing necessary diversions from my work and always seeming interested in this project, even when it felt like we might never finish it. Finally, an enormous debt of gratitude goes to Emily, who sets the bar incredibly high for coauthors. It has been *eight* years since we first started talking about this project; I cannot imagine anyone with whom I'd rather have celebrated its successes or cried about its setbacks.

PERSONAL ACKNOWLEDGMENTS: EMILY

I had been advised over and over again not to write a book before tenure because of the uncertainty of its timeline. I did so because the ideas in our heads were too big for articles. It needed to be a book. So often I wished I had taken my colleagues' advice, and so often I was glad I hadn't. Though I did not heed their warnings on this particular point, I constantly lean

on mentors, colleagues, and friends for advice, reassurance, examples, and encouragement.

I have boundless gratitude for my political science colleagues at the University of California, Merced. I am moving to a new university this year after five years at Merced, and the loss of these colleagues leaves a crater in me. At Merced, I learned how to think deeply and across contexts. I learned the value of both likeness and diversity of thought. I learned how to build new institutions from scratch and disagree respectfully. I learned how to mentor others from those who mentored me. And I learned how to honor and practice work-life balance and equity of experience. I am indebted to my UCM colleagues, fine people and researchers all: Aditya Dasgupta, Daniel de Kadt, David Fortunato, Matt Hibbing, Haifeng Huang, Brad Le Veck, Melissa Sands, and Alex Theodoridis. I am especially grateful to the founders of this magnificent department, who so often bear more service, responsibility, and kindness than they should have to, so that the junior faculty can succeed, all while advancing toward a steady vision and publishing their own brilliant work. Thank you, Tom Hansford, Nate Monroe, Steve Nicholson, and (my senior mentor!) Jessica Trounstine. Your example will follow me as I develop my own role as a senior scholar.

I must of course thank the many steadfast and supportive mentors on whom I rely in making so many career decisions. Warren Rosenblum was a key supporter and critic while I was a fledgling undergraduate scholar and remains one of my loudest cheerleaders now. David Davis, Jeff Staton, Jen Gandhi, Tom Clark, Dani Reiter, and especially Cliff Carrubba continually act as academic family to me, stepping aside to watch me grow while continuing to answer my calls, long after I left the Emory nest. Christian Davenport and Will Moore identified me as a person with potential long before I would have known it, and they invited me into their fold. They shaped who I am as a thinker, colleague, mentor, and participator in academia. I hope to someday be the kind of mentor to someone else that they have been to me. Thank you especially to Scott Wolford, whose discerning eye is on everything I write. I would not be the scholar I am if not for you.

Finally, I must thank my family—those related by blood, marriage, or friendship. My mom, Jeanette, taught me fairness and respect for all people, and she passed to me the excitement of discovery and understanding. My dad, Tom, taught me how things work and the mechanisms of cause and effect in the garage. Thank you, both, for making me a scientist. Thank you to the many people who love and root for me in my family—my sister, my in-laws, my aunts, uncles, cousins, grandparents—we are a large brood of loud love. Thank you to my beautiful friends: Lindsey Barrow, Jessica

Braithwaite, Cassy Dorff, Kara Gibson, Carissa Hansford, Daniel Hoffman, Ryan Louis, Doug Mackay, Alex Main, Amie Medley, Stephanie Raczkowski, Toby Rider, Sara Schumacher, Susan Navarro Smelcer, Jakana Thomas, James Wilson, and Scott Wolford. I often need pulling up by my armpits and a trip to the outdoors to find myself again, and you are the people who find me when I am too lost to do it on my own. And to Courtenay, with whom I am so in sync that we might be of one (very detail-oriented) mind: I cannot wait for a hundred more retreats of creating, writing, laughing, and crying with you.

My greatest loves are Darick and Henry Ritter. Thank you for giving me wings, pushing me to fly, and reminding me to come back home. You are my everything.

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1932

Wawona Basin, 8,785 acres, added to Yosemite National Park. Half of the funds required were donated; the Department of Interior was authorized by Congress to match the donation with federal funds. USNPS, 1932, p. 61.

Mariposa Grove Museum established. USNPS, 1932, p. 63; YNHA, 1932, p. 4.

Big Trees Lodge constructed in Mariposa Grove at Sunset Point. Earlier tent camp eliminated from upper grove. USNPS, 1932, p. 64.

Cosmopolitan House, built in 1873, destroyed by fire, Dec. 8. YNHA, 1933, p. 1-2.

Sierra Club Rock-Climbing Section organized. Leonard, R. M., 1938, p. ii.

1933

Devils Postpile National Monument placed under supervision of the superintendent, Yosemite National Park. YNHA, 1935, pp. 45-57.

Tule elk herd (27 animals) removed from Yosemite Valley to Owens Valley, east of Sierra. YNHA, 1933, pp. 107-109.

Arno B. Cammerer made Director of National Park Service upon resignation of Horace M. Albright. USNPS, 1933, p. 153.

Wawona Road and tunnel dedicated June 10, 1933. YNP, 1933, p. 1.

"Emergency programs," C.C.C., C.W.A., and P.W.A. advanced the construction and management projects of the park. Five C.C.C. camps were established at Wawona, Crane Flat, and Eleven Mile Meadow. YNP, 1933, pp. 26-32.

1934

First ascent of Higher Cathedral Spire, April 15; Lower Cathedral Spire, August 25. Leonard, R. M., 1934, p. 178.

Hetch Hetchy water flows into San Francisco. YNHA, 1934, pp. 89-91; YNP, 1935, pp. 11-12.

Radio replaced mountain telephone lines in Yosemite administration. YNP, 1934, p. 11.

Outdoor church bowl in Yosemite Valley improved by C.C.C. YNP, 1934.

1935

Ski house built at Badger Pass by Yosemite Park and Curry Co. YNP, 1936, p. 6.

1936

Thomas Moran art collection acquired by the Yosemite Museum. YNP, 1936, p. 4; YNHA, 1936, pp. 57-64; 1944, pp. 64-68.

Yosemite Museum acquired 198 oil and water-color paintings by the Yosemite artist, Chris Jorgensen. YNP, 1937, p. 7.

First ski ascent of Mount Lyell, March 2, by Bestor Robinson, David R. Brower, Lewis F. Clark, Boynton S. Kaiser, and Einar Nilsson. Brower, 1938, pp. 40-45.

Harry Cassie Best dies in San Francisco, October 14. Virginia Best Adams and Ansel Adams take over operation of Best Studio, Yosemite Valley. YNHA, 1936, p. 88*a*, back cover; 1945, p. 44.

1937

Lawrence C. Merriam appointed to superintendency in June following death of C. G. Thomson. YNP, 1937, p. 2; YNHA, 1937, pp. 36-38.

1938

Hetch Hetchy Dam enlarged by addition of 85 feet to its height. YNP, 1938, p. 9.

Tenaya Lake High Sierra Camp removed and new camp established at May Lake. YNP, 1938, p. 14.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt visited Yosemite Valley and Mariposa Grove, July 15. YNP, 1939, p. 6.

Sentinel Hotel, River Cottage, and Ivy Cottage torn down in Dec. YNP, 1939, p. 21.

Gabriel Sovulewski died Nov. 29. YNP, 1939, p. 11.

1939

Vegetation type map of the park prepared by Branch of Forestry, National Park Service. USNPS, Master Plan, 1942, two maps and key.

Newton B. Drury appointed to Yosemite Advisory Board, Feb. 24. YNP, 1939, p. 10.

1940

Newton B. Drury appointed Director of the National Park Service in June, when Arno B. Cammerer requested that he be relieved of his duties as Director for reasons of health. USNPS, 1940, p. 204.

Tioga Road, Crane Flat to McSwain Meadows, and Big Oak Flat Road, from Crane Flat to El Portal Road, constructed on modern standards; opened with ceremonies, June 23. YNP, 1940, p. 1. USNPS, Master Plan, 1942.

Cedar Cottage (Upper Hotel) and Oak Cottage razed. YNP, 1941, pp. 3-4; 1942, p. 6.

C. A. Harwell vacated the Yosemite Park Naturalist position Sept. 7. YNHA, 1941, p. 37.

Ski-touring accommodations provided at Ostrander Lake, under slopes of Horse Ridge. YNP, 1941, p. 2.

William E. Colby appointed to membership on Yosemite Advisory Board effective November 15. Maulding, Mrs. J. Atwood.

Mrs. John Degnan, pioneer park operator, died Dec. 15. YNP, 1941, p. 9.

1941

Arno B. Cammerer, Director of National Park Service, 1933-1940, died April 30. USNPS, 1942.

C. Frank Brockman appointed Yosemite Park Naturalist, Mar. 27. YNHA, 1941, p. 37.

Bear-feeding programs in Yosemite Valley discontinued. YNP, 1941, p. 3.

Superintendent Lawrence C. Merriam appointed Regional Director, National Park Service, Region Two (Omaha, Nebraska), July 31. Frank A. Kittredge transferred from Grand Canyon National Park to the Yosemite superintendency, Aug. 1. YNP, 1942, pp. 1, 5.

Cosie Hutchings Mills visited Yosemite Valley, Aug. 20, after absence of 42 years. YNHA, 1941, p. 111; 1942, pp. 37-40.

1942

Yosemite School of Field Natural History and Junior Nature School discontinued for duration of war. YNHA, 1942, p. 30; YNP, 1942, p. 7.

Activities of C.C.C. in Yosemite National Park discontinued in July. YNP, 1943, p 1.

U. S. Army Signal Corps units utilized National Park Service facilities at Wawona and Badger Pass as special summer training schools. YNP, 1943, p. 1; 1944, pp. 1-2; 1945, p. 2.

Armed-forces men who came to Yosemite National Park for recreation or conditioning totaled 23,272 in the fiscal year ending June 30. (This total reached 89,686 during the war years.) YNP, 1943, p. 1; 1944, p. 2.

J. N. LeConte appointed Collaborator, Yosemite Advisory Board. YNP, 1943, p. 2.

1943

Ranger-naturalist program discontinued as a war measure. YNHA, 1943, pp. 46-47.

Death of Dr. H. C. Bumpus, of the National Park Service Advisory Board, June 21. YNHA, 1943, pp. 97-101.

Death of John Degnan, pioneer resident and operator, Feb. 27. Mary Ellen Degnan, daughter, continued operation of Degnan store. YNP, 1943, p. 10.

Death of Mrs. Mabel Sweetman Boysen, longtime operator and resident, May 10. YNP, 1943, p. 11.

Ahwahnee Hotel converted to hospital use by U. S. Navy, June 23 (to Dec. 15, 1945). YNP, 1944, p. 1; YNHA, 1946, p. 75; Yosemite Park and Curry Co., 1946, pp. 1-76.

Death of Chief Ranger Forest S. Townsley, Aug. 11. YNP, 1944, p. 6; YNHA, 1943, p. 75.

1944

Transfer of Acting Chief Ranger John H. Wegner to Sequoia and Kings Canyon national parks. YNHA, 1944, pp. 32-33.

Oscar A. Sedergren appointed Chief Ranger. YNHA, 1944, pp. 37-38.

M. E. Beatty, Associate Park Naturalist, transferred to Glacier National Park, Montana. M. V. Walker appointed *vice* Beatty. YNHA, 1944, pp. 58, 60.

1945

First consideration given to the removal of some of the physical developments from Yosemite Valley and the establishment of new centers of operations in less precious localities. Vint, 1945.

Elizabeth H. Godfrey, a student and writer of Yosemite history, transferred from Yosemite to Region Four, National Park Service. YNHA, 1945, p. 97.

Meadows and vista restoration program initiated in Yosemite Valley. YNP, 1945, p. 10.

Yosemite Valley Railway abandoned August 27. YNP, 1946, p. 5.

1946

Park Naturalist C. Frank Brockman resigns from National Park Service. YNHA, 1946, pp. 110-111.

Lost Arrow ascended by Jack Arnold, Anton Nelson, Fritz Lippmann, and Robin Hansen, September 2. YNHA, 1946, pp. 113-116; Brower, 1946, pp. 121-122.

Constam T-bar lift for skiers constructed at Badger Pass in fall. YNP, 1947.

1947

Maggie Howard, "Ta-bu-ce," a principal character in Yosemite Indian demonstration, died at Mono Lake. Kittredge, 1947.

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